?: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask for whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict secrecy which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight in-group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage rivalries undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, are literate. A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here it is appropriate to consider only the bearing which education has on occupations.

Literacy itself is no entity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Mere literacy alone would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college educations are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Mumjil has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (befitting a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Mumjil depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the silkworm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisrawan, Kura, Metn, and Shouf districts (Wurst, 1948b, p. 240), but it has long since lost its economic

importance.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

position with respect to Maximal Lineages A and B, respectively, except that these shrines themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Mansūf by Mar Jurjis and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a sort of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Mansūf, A.III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634–643) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 199–220). It happens that the present priest belongs to A.III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjis even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizeable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Mansūf formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Mansūf is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A.V and C.XX).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Mansūf, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *brévet* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *brévet* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417–18). He may choose

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

694 counter adults who had been to Beirut or Tripoli not more than once or twice in their entire lives. As another informant said, "Everyone was *filaḥ*"—meaning, in effect, that everyone was either a farmer or had some part-time or full-time specialty which was directly concerned with rural subsistence. One person guessed that at any given time no more than ten men, and no women, in the village could read and write.

615 As the population of the village increased and the generations passed, the 621 three original lineages became segmented into sub-lineages. This was evidently a gradual process; the three original lineages did not all become completely subdivided at the same time. Eventually, the three original lineages lost nearly all their significance as in-groups since this function had been taken over by the new, smaller lineages. It has been noted before that while the name of the original lineage now identified as Maximal Lineage A is no longer used by any of the minimal lineages derived from it, the names of Maximal Lineages B and C are preserved as names of two minimal lineages. It may be that a more accurate view of this matter, of which the villagers were aware but could not explain, is as follows: The kin group now identifiable as A became completely subdivided into smaller lineages, and its name was thus eliminated. B and C, however, were never completely subdivided, possibly because of their smaller size. Thus, although several new lineages did develop from or split off from the original B and C, remnants of these latter continued on, retaining the original name. This interpretation, if valid, might explain why Minimal Lineages XII and XVI, which bear the names of B and C, show a greater diversity of patrilines than their fellow minimal lineages. In the view of the Mungifin in 1953, however, lineages XII and XVI are regarded in no different light from the other 'ayli.

177 At some time around 1880 the outside world began to force itself upon the circumscribed life of the village, in not one way, but several ways. First, American Protestant missionaries brought new education, with its prospects of prestigeful and possibly lucrative employment, within reach of everyone in the village. Then, America became known as the land where one could go for a few years to work, make more money than one could possibly earn in the village, and then return to 167 the village to live an easier, more comfortable life. Emigration, at first and for a long time conceived of only as a temporary expedient, began about 1890. And, finally, Western manufactured articles began to be imported.

175 By 1914 profound changes had been wrought in the village. Many of its 621 members had gone to America, some of them never to return. A decline in the price of silk had led many to replace their mulberries with olives, but the financial loss in this respect was overbalanced by the financial gain of money made in America, or sent from America. While the houses of the emigrants stood empty and began to fall into ruins, more and more new houses, with tile roofs glowing proudly in the sun, were being built. Native villagers had taken over the school founded by the missionaries, and others had established their own. Literacy and

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munjid were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village-level urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by e. say. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Weulersse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Kunz (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Patai say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, suspicions, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small lonely "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munjidis, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munjidis are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

4.24 **Languages spoken. Table 39**

191 The proficiency of household heads in languages was investigated for the major languages spoken in Beirut. Nine out of ten speak Arabic. The largest incidence of a foreign language spoken was French (42 %) with English next (22 %). The former of course reflects the mandate and other historical connections with French culture as well as the fact that French is the second official language, while the latter is part of a trend detectable very easily in Beirut with the great influx of Americans since the war.* Turkish is the fourth most significant language reflecting the old Ottoman Empire for Arabs and the bilingual speech of the Armenian refugees. Armenian itself is the next largest language group. No other languages have numerical significance.

4.25 **Languages read. Table 40**

191 212 As was expected a much smaller group (67 %) of household heads read Arabic. The difference between speaking and reading of French and English is negligible. Private schools in both languages insist on training students in the language of the sponsoring country as well as Arabic. Indeed, many native born and bred Beiruti Arabs read French more fluently than Arabic. The drop in the reading of Turkish is still more spectacular, but Armenians seem to have learned both to speak and read the language.**

4.26 **Languages written. Table 41**

There is no significant difference between the reading and writing of any of the languages recorded in the survey for heads of households.

* during the war.

† of Arabic, Armenian, Greek and Western script who can

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22: Churchill S-5 (1962) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

4.31 Number of years attended school. Table 42

371

The amount of schooling of spouses of heads of households is less than of the household heads. Almost forty percent have had no formal education. The mean schooling in years is 3.9, but interestingly, of those who have been to school, there is a somewhat higher average amount of schooling for the spouses.

In higher education (baccalaureate or higher) there are about four percent of the sample, indicating again the cultural belief in the greater economic utility of educating men. This is part of the oft expressed attitude that educating women is expensive and the benefits go to her husband, not her own family.

4.32 Type of school attended. Table 43

As with household heads, for those responding among the spouses, nine-tenths went to private schools while an additional small group went to both private and public schools.

4.33 Country of school attended. Table 44

Almost three-quarters of the women also were educated in Lebanon only. In general the pattern of schooling by type of school attended is like that of the household head.

4.34 Languages spoken. Table 45

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Less spouses speak Arabic, probably due to the fact that for foreigners there is less need among women to speak the language of the country than there is for the bread winner. The order of secondary languages is again French, English, Turkish and Armenian. One peculiar difference lies in the larger proportion of men than women who speak both Turkish and Armenian.

4.35 Languages read. Table 46

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Literacy is lower among spouses than household heads with over a third of the spou-

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ses illiterate. Fewer women read in each language category which is statistically significant.

Those not reading correlate closely with the percentage of those who have not attended school.

4.36 **Languages written, Table 47**

As with the men there is no substantial difference in the ability to read and to write any of the languages recorded.

The fact that spoken language is the most common, then reading and last writing holds up in Beirut. The difference between reading and writing is not significant but accords with expectations.

Children of Head of Household

A special type of table has been constructed for the children of heads of households which shows the relationships between age and years of schooling for children now in school and now out of school. The tables are broken down by sex and are also shown with sexes grouped together.

4.41 **Male children now not in school, Table 48**

In the sample there were 1674 male children of heads of households who are now not in school. Of these thirty-two percent were below school age which was arbitrarily set at six or less. Another fifty-four percent were above school age. Here again it was necessary to set an arbitrary age. It was set at sixteen which is probably too high in terms of the actual situation. This leaves a group of male children of school age now not in school of fourteen percent.

4.42 **Female children now not in school, Table 49**

There were 1243 female children now not in school. Some thirty-eight percent were below school age and forty percent above school age. There was a residue of twenty-one percent who are of school age but not in school. These

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12: Churchill 8-5 (1952) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 40

Languages Read by Household Head

Languages Read	Number	Percent
Total	2992	100.00
Arabic	1210	40.44
Armenian	141	4.72
French	687	22.96
English	348	11.63
Turkish	122	4.08
Hebrew	7	0.23
Other Eastern	14	0.47
Other Western	108	3.61
Other	1	0.03
None	346	11.56
Don't Know	8	0.27

Table 41

Languages Written by Household Head

Languages Written	Number	Percent
Total	2981	100.00
Arabic	1194	40.05
Armenian	144	4.83
French	690	23.15
English	339	11.37
Turkish	124	4.16
Hebrew	8	0.27
Other Eastern	16	0.54
Other Western	106	3.56
Other	2	0.07
None	351	11.77
Don't Know	7	0.23

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12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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Table 46

Languages Read by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Languages Read	Number	Percent
Total	2303	100.00
Arabic	768	33.35
Armenian	126	5.47
French	459	19.93
English	192	8.34
Turkish	53	2.30
Hebrew	5	0.22
Other Eastern	5	0.22
Other Western	65	2.82
Other	4	0.17
None	614	26.66
No Answer	12	0.52

Table 47

Languages Written by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Languages Written	Number	Percent
Total	2346	100.00
Arabic	738	31.46
Armenian	125	5.33
French	462	19.69
English	197	8.40
Turkish	48	2.05
Hebrew	33	1.41
Other Eastern	6	0.26
Other Western	63	2.68
Other	4	0.16
None	655	27.92
No Answer	15	0.64

p. 32 (c)

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

other business activities with the West; modern technology and means of communication; and, finally, the rise of political consciousness, culminating recently in national emancipation.

Each of these factors for change has been potent, introducing far-reaching influences in the life of the people. The educational movement has brought a rate of literacy, estimated at 70 percent, which is unequalled in any other rural area of the Middle East. The rate is even higher for the more advanced mountain region considered separately from the coastal and urban areas of Lebanon. Here we find a school in practically every village, catering to the needs of both boys and girls. From the elementary schools, village youth has flowed in increasing numbers to high schools and colleges. As a result, the horizon of the village has been widened intellectually and economically, causing the farming folk to question their way of life and to seek greater opportunities in the outside world.

As mentioned before, Lebanese emigrants, mostly from the rural areas, left in relatively large numbers to the Americas and other parts of the world. Practically every farm-family unit has one or more of its members residing abroad. Through correspondence, the press, and literature, through clubs and societies, through visits back home, and by means of the substantial sums of money sent to their families, these emigrants have contributed heavily to the widening of the village horizon and to the changing of its pattern.

Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities.

The village community of Lebanon is now going through a stage of rapid transition and difficult adjustment. Its traditional organization, with its institutional pillars of family, land, and religion, is being severely challenged. New ways of doing things

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
LEBANON MEI
SYRIA MDI

In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trying to create one.

Social Survey

The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, mix freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1948 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the huddle of the *suq*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

The Press

The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers none of which could guarantee a circulation of over 3,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *La Bourse Egyptienne*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

Education

In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,[1] it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

[1] An estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 40–50 per cent.

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 Ml Middle East
Lebanon ME1

Chapter 24

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

TWO UNIQUE features of education in Lebanon distinguish it from education in the rest of the Arab world. Lebanon has the highest rate of literacy among the Arab states. It is estimated that between 70 and 75 percent of the children of primary-school age are attending school—a considerably higher rate than in the neighboring countries. This rate would have been higher had it not been for the addition to Lebanon after World War I of some regions which were much less advanced educationally than the original Mount Lebanon. Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy.

The second remarkable fact is that this comparatively advanced stage has been accomplished largely through the efforts of private and foreign schools rather than through publicly supported schools. Indeed, before World War I, autonomous Lebanon had only one public school, the Daudiyah at 'Abay, which was supported by the Lebanese government for the education of the children of that predominantly Druze region.[1] The private and foreign schools were largely sectarian. This gave education in Lebanon a predominantly sectarian character, emphasizing sectarian differences, the remnants and effects of which are felt to this day.

Even in 1945–46 the number of pupils enrolled in the public schools was smaller than the number of those enrolled in either private schools or foreign schools. Higher education is conducted entirely in foreign institutions. Secondary education is shared between private and foreign schools, the Lebanese Ministry of National Education having no complete secondary schools. Primary education is conducted in all three types of schools—public, private, and foreign—with the public schools in the third place in enrollments. In addition to primary schools, the Ministry of Na-

[1] Government schools existed in those parts of the present Lebanese Republic which were parts of the neighboring Ottoman provinces. Among these were the cities of Beirut (now the capital of Lebanon), Tripoli, Sidon, and Tyre, as well as such districts as 'Akkar, Buqa', and Marju'yun.

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have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country. 186 167

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 484 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,300 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 78,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents. 161 635 162 369

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south. 871 212 562 871 648 185 872 369

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